

Relative 56352

Adam 78351

AW

Bill No 10

K could not afford the limitation of (turning his  
ship around) & a second time.

Given reaction to threat (later)

S "

recon



✓ Instructions to Adm., 29 Oct (1)

✓ Bell memo to Pres, 10 Nov:

Off SU. Says

✓ Nello memo of 3 Oct on topic of NAC

✓ SUIE of 18 Sept on Military Buildup in Cuba

(SU is probably incertainties - also more likely than IAC, but still very unlikely; would expect US reaction; change in SU policy).

✓ Mandelstam memo of 9 <sup>Oct</sup> ~~Nov~~: trend toward introduction of RBY, probably also.

✓ McN to Chaps, 2 Oct; 6 contingencies

✓ JCS memo, 15 Oct (?)

✓ 1-5, 19 Oct

See: K letter of 27 Oct to Pres? Black Saturday

Ritz's instructions in Over-hipster group, sent to NAC <sup>up</sup> 27 Oct

NAC minutes, 23 Oct

JCS memo to Rainsworth

First instruction to Finkler for NAC, Oct. 27

Amber Swamp with Lewis, etc.

was on memo of [unclear] re. my [unclear] party.

AW

She actually brought us into a "position of strength" in  
Strategic field (and maybe, within the new JFK  
would have done it herself for Germany intelligence  
estimates; see Lyngby article, Herring, JFK speech).

Yet our expectation of coming "stalemate" — plus  
unwillingness to prepare for it by increasing conventional  
arms (which were already too weak to permit  
initiation: as in Hungary, Warsaw, Polish riots, etc.) —  
kept him tied from exploiting strength or from  
developing a strategy of strength.

In actuality, we have remained defensive, tied to  
a strategy of weakness; a desperate strategy (NSC 68)  
appropriate to, say, France versus Soviets; a  
strategy of punishment which aims (de Gaulle) to  
"take an arm off" — though actually big enough  
to slaughter if used "French-style" (WWII-style)  
(French didn't have that bombardment doctrine then) —  
or to disarm SO, considering actual SSO forces.  
(NSC 68 seems related to — many — estimates of future SO capability.)

weaken our estimate of aggression etc. by third party.



Cuba shows importance of initiative capability; though  
problem of the "Mistake of Conflict." (Bundy;  
Bell more; fear of this Horizontal Escalation — when  
S/U Vertical Escalation — can be a way of rationalizing  
inaction, or a conceal fear of any risk whatever (of  
either sort of escalation).

Only adequate conventional forces permit us to  
probe, to counter S/U move with almost freedom,  
to cast back as limited S/U move (e.g., Berlin),  
to assist result — without involving defenses  
unacceptably elsewhere. Superiority is not needed  
for these purposes; repel their limited move, challenge them  
to raise stakes.

Cuba shows that our nuclear superiority does not  
deter them from [avert from limited aggression: McN]  
highly provocative probe of our position (looking for weakness,  
which it may find?), attempt to demonstrate suspected weakness  
in resolution or humanity, to humiliate us or split Alliance or  
weaken our intention of aggression etc. by third party.

may, very

AW

We must be prepared to act fast and  
decisively, in informal way (under Liberman) — to  
Jared when he comes — to make sure that  
they learn from their experience what we want them  
to learn, including costs & risks of such tests.

Also, we want officials to think aloud (+  
US public; and...) e.g. to rely on US, not to fear SU  
public, strength of position & unity, etc. etc. rather than  
to learn directions from [even if SU learns right  
from, it can try to reverse lessons by preventing US allies  
from learning right ones — especially if US cooperates in  
SU move]. <sup>(or, discuss in Kremlin)</sup> boldly, SU may expect defect to teach  
their friends — looklike allies what we want them  
to learn: which it seems to be doing! (Dec 13)

Many contingencies to be planned for (i.e.  
against): certain likely, dangerous proposals or moves  
within the Administration during a crisis; Participate  
there, prepare a response against, counter-proposals. To what  
positions / attitudes do we want US / NATO committed?



## Study:

- 1) Implications of gold utilization.
- 2) Impact of Defense Budget.
- 3) Programming, Procurement practices, Costing; Budget Process.
- 4) R&D Policy
- 5) Stockpile, mobilization, recovery / in Controlled War / LW / Post-war  
recovery
- 6) Systems Analysis & Strategic Choice
- 7) C & C in Controlled Response

### Crises

#### Limited War

#### R&D

Problem common to State Intelligence, Warning, Operational Choice

- 8) Organizations for Operations, Plans, Intel, R&D, Procurement,  
State - White House - DOD

% Safety, Control, Stability; Permissiveness link

ASW  
usability for press recon.

Dec. 14:

X Paper in 1911; see Hogg (can they be based?)

2) Call H.H. Savage

X See memo to George; talk to George. (Bonne, Wolfe, Givens)

X Kary? 27 Dec, 9

3) Xmas shipping?

6) Letters / bills

7) Get Dintet

8) Get ticket to Mich.

X Write travel expenses

Higgins, Kinnick, Wolfe (Din, Bonne) on

Phadon on missiles

Sallazar on WWII

(Cohen reviews on A-bomb, H-bomb, H-bomb)

Paul Hammond

Klein, Marshall, Cohen, Jones (Hoffman)

Katz, Digby (Sallazar, de Ward) Belyer, Hogg (Higgins) (Austin)

AWW  
possibly for press review.



\_\_\_\_\_

12:50

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

.....

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "J. H. Smith", "W. J. Jones", and "M. J. Brown", among others.

\_\_\_\_\_

1942

\_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]

1952

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

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10/10/10

1. The first of these is the fact that the

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "John A. Smith", "Mrs. J. B. Jones", and "Mr. C. D. Brown".

2000-01-15

\_\_\_\_\_

1. What is the main purpose of the study?

\_\_\_\_\_

WATER TO WATER

1944

*[Faint handwritten notes]*

\_\_\_\_\_

.....

\_\_\_\_\_

1. Aluminum Chloride

capability for photo recon.]

K: "SU has no need to achieve its objectives by means of war, or by military means."

But: "SU has no need to deploy missiles outside its borders."

(2)  
Rentsch: in last quarter of 1961, SU produced more still than US, for the first time (US was producing at 50% of capacity).

[Calculate current capability in US for Type III Deterrence; for expansion of Aid; for buildup of conventional capability]

Rentsch: Only if, by economic competition, we can overtax the non-military sector of SU can we put pressure on SU to reduce its military spending, to divert resources to non-military sector.

UN Regional Universities.



17 Dec.

Reuther: Guided Missiles and Missiles Men

[Title for article on Cuba: Suddenly Lost Autumn]

[Predict cost of crises, cost of small wars  
(cost of exercises, maneuvers). Look at costs incurred  
(by components) in Lebanon, Thailand, Quinoy, Cuba;  
estimate for given scenarios. Compare to costs of  
measures to reduce prob. of crises, wars: info systems,  
C+C, posture. Cost of WWII, Korea. Counter-provocation.  
Costs of forces expended, transport, stocks, etc.;  
<sup>value</sup> costs of capital destroyed;

[Calculate: value of photos of Cuban missiles — in  
convincing allies, public, US decision-makers, reducing  
disagreement: is opposed to other forms of intelligence.

Contrast to cost of operations. Consider gaps in  
capability for photo recon.]

Rentler:

K's confidence is based on his belief that our form of society can meet the challenges of peace.

He knows that we can unite and act effectively in time of war; but doesn't think our factions can coordinate effectively in time of low tension.

[How much is K counting on the advantages of dealing with an alliance? e.g., was this a major factor in SU's move into Cuba: was this big surprise, Allied reaction? Or perhaps: US more decisive + firm + fast enough to win Allied respect and followership? Improved US crisis machinery may be the way to avoid the weaknesses of crisis allied policy. Formulate the Allied response, Alliance propensities, that threaten Allied cohesion and effectiveness in a crisis: prepare planned US response, institutional changes to forestall Allied dissolution or paralysis or surrender].

[For crises: Plan + prepare for uncertainty, ignorance, mistakes, and different opinions, differences in beliefs, info and goals within US govt, and within Western Alliance.]



[Political "responsible" decision-maker must evaluate a component of national strategy for which he is responsible not in the context of a system optimized as a whole, with other components adapted to this one, but in the context of the probable states of other components. This requires him to know the current and ~~But this likely~~ (or possible, within given period or by certain methods): one of the virtues of "responsibility."

But a cost of "responsibility" is that he has little time to explore — and may even be prohibited from exploring — the consequences or desirability of changes in other components for which he is not "responsible." Thus, there is tendency to identify the "probable" or "assumed" states of other parts of the system as the current states (partly from ignorance, organizational caution, lack of time for contingency planning).

Thus, when "academic" evaluates counterforce as if NATO had adequate conventional capability, "responsible" bureaucrats may tend to evaluate counterforce as if current inadequacies could never or would never change.

Auth Adams: 19 Dec.

Ajilani left the country for Geneva (with his wife) on 24 Oct., Wednesday, as blockade started.

He was convinced:

- a) SU would never put missiles in Cuba
- b) US was tampering w/ evidence, trying to provoke SU response.

- c) US was planning to strike first.

[Note: can't say this would have been the worst way to go first: SU was not alert, perhaps deliberately so. Nor was NATO.]

d) Thus, prob of war (US first strike) was about 90%.

[Note: Geneva was not so dumb under the assumption of a US first strike.]

Domenick, 18 Dec. Thought prob of war was very high, though not 90%.



McNaughton: Devolution of authority from Pres is  
carefully preserved.

"No" order must come from the highest authority.

But:

"Putting them first, with the most, is absolute.

Putting them too soon, with too much, may run directly  
counter to the national interest.

DE.

1. No Stop message preparations or authorized or potentially authenticated with bombers on airborne alert or Positive Control, for use after they have received a Go order (i.e., on the ground, or in the air after receiving a "Launch" order launching them on airborne alert or Positive Control).

Thus, in case SU surrenders between initiation of OS attack and arrival of bombers (e.g., after US missile arrival) — which might be 10-14 hours for most bombers — there is no way even to delay (or divert, retarget, or postpone or cancel) the major part, or any, of the bomber attack on the SU.

Solution: a) ~~Can~~ Put a "Cancel" message, <sup>code</sup> in the Positive Control envelope, along with "Go" code. Study and develop procedures for re-directing bombers after they have received a "Go" order.



2. Have procedures relating to Expenditure merges, Position Control, weapon safety, unauthorized action in planes, minutes and Command Posts, been studied in the Pacific Command as carefully and comprehensively as in NATO, CONAD and SAC?

Two years ago, the answer was strongly; No.

Procedures differed from one subordinate or station component command to the next; some were much less reliable than others. In general, the procedures affecting the young, junior officers flying F-100's alone were not nearly as careful as those relating to SAC bomber crews. E.g., they did not, like SAC, receive regular briefings on Position Control procedures and sign statement that they understood (interviews showed dangerous uncertainties). Nor that they have an "irreversible code", such as recently developed for SAC

"Resolution of rising expectations" → "resolution of rising demands" (willingness to die, pay, risk, threaten, force, to improve lot); Underdeveloped nations have problems that PROBLEMS they didn't "have" (recognize as problems) before.

"It's not my problem" ("That's a real problem; I'm glad it's not mine.")

a) Bureaucratic responsibility for sub-problems is one criterion ("That's his problem").

b) Or refusal for bargaining purposes to "recognize" certain problems: force effort to "solve" (them of "children").

c) Lack of alternatives or inability to pursue "problem-solving process" because of lack of time.

[Good: "This method is to be used only on problems that are unimportant or urgent."] ]

("I can't worry about that problem").

Issue: Is there a sufficient prob that I can achieve an acceptable solution (or, sufficiently better solution)



Foster:

1. Cuba: don't underestimate importance of availability of landing craft.

[Is it 'good' for SU to acquire bigger second-strike capability?] If deterrence should then fail, damage would be higher.

2. [Also, less deterrence of lesser-but-larger SU 'provocations'. Alternative deterrents are possible, preferable, desirable: but they don't adequately exist today; and it would be irresponsible for US Pres to act in every respect and in every context as if they did exist. Those who would urge him to do so — e.g. by adopting no-first-use-of-nuclears policy — often ignore such consequences as the effect of on NATO nations, incentive to develop independent national deterrents (which will not substitute either for conventional arms — to deter small aggression — nor for the US guarantee of first strike — to deter large aggression)]

Fortin: SC broke mountains a year ago; "the are  
objective enough to realize that history might not  
repeat itself; but we do require more assurance than  
a New Year's resolution."



What is a "lie"? (as in: were K's minute claims  
'lies'?)



Element of intent, consciousness.

Issue: what is the 'claim' to be evaluated?

What were words? Context? Audience(s)?

Consider <sup>of war</sup> prisoner, who makes a statement that he intends  
(hopes) to be interpreted in a particular way by an  
audience that has special knowledge (e.g. of his  
background, setting, goals, usage), though it  
would be interpreted differently (in a way such that  
it would be false) by other, uninformed, "typical"  
audiences.

To what extent is the proposition a matter of 'fact',  
susceptible of being demonstrated to be "true" or "false"?

[<sup>as</sup> "In war, truth is the first casualty."]

Degree of relying on "explicit analysis"

of "replacing man by machine" (program)

(increasing  
formally):

that system will then be able to do only  
what we (designers) know how to explain to do

know how to teach, analytically +  
systematically

know, diminishes importance of what we know



Indoctrination of President:

not just responsibility, complexity, uncertainty, experience.

but: Mysteries:

natural  
knowledge } previously hidden,  
practices } guarded  
threats }  
(What President has previously had?)  
like? Had Cold War natural?)

"Political scientists" are prevented from knowing how the  
system operates, now — or in the past, since the secret  
is well kept (better than they can imagine — so they don't know  
extent of their ignorance, as they compare what they 'know' now with  
— what they learn about the past).

Difficulty of learning from "experts," or from "the  
uninstructed," (unlearned, = (from someone "different").

What they don't know, condemns them.  
disqualifies them

Psychologists, economists, psychoanalysts; social scientists.

(Physical scientists, known to know "the secrets  
of the atom" (but they did not get benefit of the secrets.  
The bomb worked. True Believers, they).

[To learn, or to learn, someone who doesn't know what we  
know, diminishes importance of what we know

Frederic Stone

Woods Institute

Harmon-on-Hudson, N.Y.

914

RO-2-0700 (Witchster  
Conn)

Harold Kuhn

Dept of Mathematics

Princeton University

Princeton, N.J.



11 Aug 64

Autism Report 15 July 64

① <sup>explains</sup> ~~By~~ <sup>explains</sup> ~~studies~~ differences between ~~own~~ <sup>own</sup> ~~game~~ <sup>game</sup> and reality

Big stake poker vs. ~~watchdogs~~ <sup>watchdogs</sup>

In real ~~cases~~ <sup>cases</sup>

1) ~~Common~~ <sup>Common</sup> ~~breaks~~ <sup>breaks</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~normal~~ <sup>normal</sup> ~~levels~~ <sup>levels</sup>

2) ~~Effects~~ <sup>Effects</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~power~~ <sup>power</sup>, ~~Terror~~ <sup>Terror</sup>, ~~Responsibility~~ <sup>Responsibility</sup>; ~~publicity~~ <sup>publicity</sup>

and ~~real~~ <sup>real</sup> ~~existence~~ <sup>existence</sup> ~~threat~~ <sup>threat</sup>

[3. ~~Barriers~~ <sup>Barriers</sup>

4. ~~Commitment~~ <sup>Commitment</sup> ~~production~~ <sup>production</sup> ~~warnings~~ <sup>warnings</sup>

5. ~~Political~~ <sup>Political</sup> ~~opposition~~ <sup>opposition</sup> ~~within~~ <sup>within</sup>

6. ~~Internal~~ <sup>Internal</sup> ~~resistance~~ <sup>resistance</sup> { ~~over~~ <sup>over</sup> ~~compensation~~ <sup>compensation</sup> ~~high~~ <sup>high</sup> ~~level~~ <sup>level</sup> ~~negotiation~~ <sup>negotiation</sup> }

See II

2. "History that is pertinent to the problems of the operator."

Focus on mechanism and process rather than outcome

done; on the ~~form~~ <sup>form</sup> in which events presented themselves

to those in <sup>line of</sup> ~~common~~ <sup>common</sup> ~~responsibility~~ <sup>responsibility</sup>; with all the

confusions, behind alleg, unknowns, obligations presented  
usual history is not only ~~difficult~~ <sup>difficult</sup> but is ~~desperately~~ <sup>desperately</sup> ~~needed~~ <sup>needed</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~done~~ <sup>done</sup>

lead on to prepare for and repeat complexity,  
ambiguity, ...



1. Commanders' Reports:

1. Address advice, discuss they really trust and desire
2. Address up when they have to allocate listening time
3. clearly. Post-communication
4. Desire to work in privacy, by phone or face-to-face

[It was only when it is important to see K-L letters?]

[Was "communication" a real problem in Cuban crisis;  
was problem one of explaining or convincing of  
K's understanding or his belief?]

[Was it useful to convey caution to K, as dictated  
from being cautious?] (though need to rationalize caution the way  
/1

How would Johnson know of Pearl participation?

SG?

Role of SI?

Diplomatic with USSR, ...

"no record of the issue rising above the  
level of the Def and Under Sec State. CC

Why did Brown back Sauvanna, instead of Phonmi?

Where were French?

Why State emphasis on negotiated settlement?

Forces needed; as major change of forces  
had to be supported; but he in conflict  
with more States wanted to support  
(Two sets of "local guys")





## Summary

MO92, 22 Oct

1. Cuba: DEFCON 3 message sent out in clear, 5 hours ahead of speech — to go to 3 at time of speech. Are EAP geared to US responses, rather than to US-initiated actions?

[Pike's message, TSX to CINCS, criticized as departure from procedures, too limited in dist.

But...!]

(Johnson also criticized!)

2. Cuban Planning Group role (2 Oct?)  
Johnson Task Force

3. Why did JCS meet in Hotel Room instead of NMCC?

4. Real possibility of operating from alternate site? Problems?

5. Possibility of a) SOPs for crisis ops

b) "Panels" of cleared people.

6. Are there really, crisis EAPs? Plans for messages, identifying?

20 Oct Fighting begins between Israelis & Jordan troops

27-23 Oct Yemeni aircraft attacked Aden territory  
and O.T. presence of Egyptian troops on Yemen admitted.

3 Nov first shipment of US arms to Jordan arrived.

7 Effect of using SSO channels for communication!



Stalin look: manage traffic, 1-3. some files  
+ interviews

Look of names of WSEG studies:

- |                                      |               |                    |                        |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. White House                       | }             | meetings           | telecons               |
| 2. JCS                               |               | memos              | informal mtg           |
| 3. NSC                               |               | agenda             | EO cables              |
| 4. SG                                |               | letters            | Pres - foreign letters |
| 5. USIB                              |               | drafts             | Dip. contacts; memos   |
| 6. COMOR, etc.                       |               | working papers     | Dip.                   |
| 7. OSD                               |               | NS-MS              |                        |
| 8. State<br>for                      |               | SNIES?             |                        |
| 9. CIA <sup>DDI</sup> DDP            |               | INR<br>CIA memos   |                        |
| 10. Diplomatic; <sup>Conferees</sup> |               | Conference minutes |                        |
| 11. Anti Communism.                  | ONE, DIA, INR |                    |                        |

12. SI ; and traffic over SSO channels.

13. T, K ; COMOR, SG etc.

14. All source Intell. bulletins

W500, Staff eye view

Also, important measures of  
to Pass cell

2. Possible Pass; org

SS, etc.

3. Info available to top

Estimate, SI, T, K, CIB, CL

Dipl, letters, News

4. Political motives, considerations (e.g. election campaign)

5. Plans & aims, pressure

6. Process, stages

7. Pass of problem by help decision making, Pass, etc.

8. Political influence of intelligence process

9. ... .. context for process

(510: 6.02 "functions are more visible")



In Mass.

at Lawrence's request

In ~~France~~ Dec. 1960, the laws were supporting the  
"legal" <sup>which recognized</sup> <sup>substant</sup> ~~govt~~ of Laos, and we were secretly supporting  
a whole movement. When this took over, we couldn't get

Miss Guebert Thier, Phil. SVV and others to recognize it!

Why wasn't France more active? Where were her forces?

Dec. 13 - Laos received US - aircraft - & military Personnel.

List reasons for covertures.

<sup>CAS</sup>  
Role of CAT, in Laos, Thier, B-26s, T-6s,

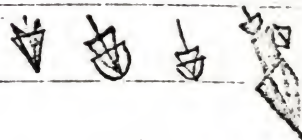
Action of King La - a CAS favorite - similar to

actions of SVV special troops in Buddhist, and Viet?

How did French embargo influence?

Description of Miss? (Her knowledge of camp?)

Any surprises?



Attitude of Mansfield

What is French attitude on is future of coalition  
with pro-Communist in it?

Phonetic interpretation of writing to run a separate Southern States?

Had been studying the Korean Records

Suspended Constitution, etc.

Bankers might prefer? way of life of country

"Attack" by "VM - Champs" according to RLG, and  
accepted by world press had to be countered  
by US (London) — (even if phony?) just as  
British Gulf "incidents" had to be countered, to save  
US prestige.

Parallel: RLG claims of VM, VC  
Daily claims of flight to Syria  
When claims of two missiles

2

4





Why didn't we move <sup>SO</sup> early in support of Laos?

Form of DRV-PRC intervention?

[Perlmutter? Find out what an estimate would say;  
then get one, in notes.]

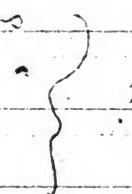
<sup>in Jan '61</sup>  
Was there a decision to give ODP major responsibility  
for general military ops in Laos & Laos?

(Rutge, Kiehl, McAllen?)

State - purely diplomatic, political moves

DDO - purely military

CIA - purely covert



21

—

ARCADE



Challenges to team effectiveness:

- 1) Information processing with team interaction:  
Info. may not given, you don't know (unlike control theory)  
Lapses, but not given (unlike decision models).

- 2) Control process with team interaction (Chalaby: goals, conflicts)

Observation:

Violence, constraints in control, disregard, limitation  
(Gung, Tadm, (2.3), Tadm, Tadm, (3/4/alt))

Information as an resource

- 3) Day - note team (for short, as well).  
lack, that example

(Platonic) costs of interacting, asking, deciding  
Planning

Factor in success - continuous  
+ lack of interaction

Effects of decision process on responsibility  
+ increasing interest, goals, to  
ach: responsibility to pass on info, inform

HOW TO IMPROVE TEAM EFFECTIVENESS

Course of High Power

Course is the Health of The President

Course is Health Decision making

Communication Secrets (the Secret wants to reveal)

2)

Examination

Expenditure Minors Major

Secret History

Complexity of Common

Common - Latin

Latin & Description

Volume

by new reference

Study



Power: 402-294X-4111

Col. A.A. [unclear]

986-6299Z H15

1. If war comes, it is likely to  
start of tests - even some tests are in policies,  
and broader and more serious are largely borne in  
war.

Thus, interaction in the quality of decision-making  
in crisis  
of control of management & crisis

[Crisis management: understanding of crisis  
crisis?]

Management of messages and actions as messages  
to: business, the public, the world  
by: the President, the President's family, the  
press, the military - of the President, the  
family.

Also: a cognitive problem: in the process of understanding  
a political problem: a failure of understanding.

ANALYTICAL THINKING



11. Final.

Crisis as Fortune. as Fate.

Crisis as Impairment. Surprise → from misbelief →

crisis from bad prediction of future system, self. → failure.

Crisis as Dialog. Multi-voice. Dialog of needs. <sup>admission</sup> <sup>admission</sup>

Direction, but more latent. Equivocal. Multi-voice.

Crisis as Limits. Confusion. Dialog of heads & tails. High noon.

Crisis as Health of the Presidency. Press info; Press  
motives; Press background.

Internal history. Internal conflict. Broken mirror.

Indeterminacy of 1) Central theory

2) Main theory. Main theory

3) Decision theory

4) Big theory. (Press over measurement)

[Distinction:]

Dist. between coercive threats and  
control/expression of guilt & anxiety.

$A \Rightarrow B$

1) B (or C) can make B feel guilty for  
making threats against A — or even, failing to  
comply with A's wishes.

2) B will (under form of guilt) submit to a  
"socialization/education/regimentation" process that will  
bring his guilt feelings under attack of (symbolic/power  
legitimation controlled by) A (or C): i.e. can be  
shamed, discredited & threaten B.

3) No consequence of 1 & 2: A can create anxiety for  
B but B "cannot" create anxiety for A

1. Also a result of great disparity in power.

A STUVWXYZ  
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNPOQR



Excitation is instability of a feedback  
process.

Control system whose output is a  
Disturbance (or input? change in environment?)  
(change in output structure?) to another  
Control System.

Together, we have a joint feedback system  
whose stability (say to third party, or disturbance,  
or environmental phenomenon? "disturbances")

Col Morgan, ESD Precision Series

Crisis Management

Crisis Manager

President

2 times each of 11 min.  
Heads Read to product files - to supports - to answer

unrelated questions

With  
But little guidance from President?

1) No Time

2) Primary

3) Failure

What can the social sciences contribute to understanding

- understanding of your own organization - measures with human

components

- Research in crisis

Know Yourself : See yourself as others see you



Most cases take place at High Noon;  
the disputes on both sides have stopped  
suddenly; the citizens wait, passively; the  
military shelter; in two hours, without  
further notice, toward a confrontation down a  
narrow, deserted street.

Population views. For some time, strikingly accurate  
with the quality of human material in the city; the city is healthy...  
the defecting officers, easy to recognize the  
role of the President; carrying out of policies,  
very unusual with the participation of the, he  
under the authority, city, because, taken; he must choose  
the small fraction of the office

But in crisis, the force remains constant.

Under the circumstances, the management is required -  
coordinated, fast action - commander needed.

Policies must be changed (or changes considered);  
crisis must be brought to a close, decisions determined,  
urgent action prepared & considered.

As we proceed into the Pass: by authority,  
by reputation, by range and depth of responsibility  
He will want his judgment to be controlling....

Pass as crisis manager. As one can manage it for him.  
But midway there. Considerations:

General of everything we know about crises,  
Our mind is probably a "denial" of the true,  
forgetting, characteristics of crises. our habits deny  
ability of our human capabilities to control, to judge  
wisely - quickly, in real situations, under threats,  
often surprises, without plans....

If war comes, it will come out of a crisis -- not  
as a result of a crisis of "peace" decision-making  
in a crisis, situations of urgent need, ~~time~~ in which  
early violent action demands attention



How to avoid crises

How to prepare for them

How to govern them (technical meaning)

How to act wisely when they occur

Known details on an  
approach to understanding of crisis phenomena. How  
does it arise? why do they arise? how are crises  
avoided? how do the choices of different nations  
interact, under what conditions does this interaction  
take out, which does it replace?

Special topic: social crises, not to pass over

In many of the crises are <sup>crisis - fundamental discovery</sup> accidental, this narrows  
understanding of behavior: understanding + prediction  
known to leadership of "accidental" crises. (1941)

But this is an object of academic analysis, the  
crisis phenomenon is a <sup>modelled in</sup> complex mystery; it is at the  
heart of several layers of ignorance: it is a  
mystery within a visible world in ignorance. The  
outer darkness is the process of the interaction of

Personal large businesses acting upon each other in complex & mysterious ways; of one of these, we know to be a "Black Box", whose inner structure and processes has remained given us. One more, we think we know.

That is inevitable. The inner darkness is the shadow of our own inner darkness — especially in national identity leading in the last generation of Cold War, of ideological polarization, commission of conflict & challenge & innovation. It is in neither Black Box.

BROKEN MIRROR;  
And the heart of darkness is the darkness of the President — despite the fact that a) one man

b) publicity

Part is Black Box. Only part of info, only part of output; almost nothing of process.

Contrast of two parties, influence.

Our inner behavior is not shown when we go into the individual thought, great thought (though, within our heart); O.K.



Review of 1979



But, specimens are usually labeled & sent to  
"institutes." That is the best way to preserve the specimens.  
Labeled specimens.

Result: a) loss of specimens of low value, interest to  
by well & low value collectors.  
b) loss of specimens of high value & interest of  
distance difficulty of collecting specimens — consequence  
loss.

Result c) loss of specimens of high value & interest

loss of specimens of high value & interest

a) loss of specimens of high value & interest

b) loss of specimens of high value & interest

c) loss of specimens of high value & interest

d) loss of specimens of high value & interest

Effects of survey.

(a) Bad for social scientists]

1) Bad for staff follows. Group

2) Bad for staff understanding of interpretation of Group group behavior, time, planning, preparation

Group of info. What is its use? Needs?

Bad of breaking back. "Crisis back."

Illig. in my back. (a little in the (general)

Staff problem is to perform answers to

(unasked, anticipated) questions;

but questions are (the) information.)]

3) Lack of feedback from (staff +) third parties (Group back)

4) Bad understanding by opponents, allies.

5) Bad prediction of opponents/other predictions, behavior of them is distorted, but based partly on info to them that staff don't see.]



implications for social scientists:

- 1) Learning can be eliminated - can be reduced and
- but: 2) this effects can be better understood
- 3) End effects can be reduced; less surprise
- 4) Some tentative judgments based on available; more search for hypotheses
- 5) Less scientists can pay price of access.
- 6) Other can study in less sensitive settings, recreational behavior; org. to high level decision-making in large organizations.

x Com Observation

a) Personal history

b) Learning

c) Staffs, middle levels, etc.

Was there a question of being something? A crisis?  
Planning? Why not? What if SAC, or similar, had  
come out of the blue without prior notice, or warning?  
Who drew the lines; and why?



Plates: over and over again it made heads of ground  
observed by proving their reports inaccurate  
or wrong.

Two classical invitations to error in estimating evidence  
1) neglect & undervaluation of evidence because  
it does not match hypothesis or preconceived hypothesis  
2) looking for problems under way (not raising hypotheses,  
giving weight of evidence & giving opinion?)

(There was a strong alternative hypothesis — post  
experience & evidence, both suggested a stopping place  
to the military process — though not necessarily  
about of IL-28's or FRO's, troops; but made them  
contingent on the rest of whether there would provoke  
a US military reaction.) [Would they? If we were  
in contact — which did not specify military actions  
When IL-28's, SAMs a test? Lorenson did show  
sensitivity to SAMs — identified, showed effort — what right  
have been moving? but we did nothing, as that defensive  
formula.

2/15/77

~~19~~ 19 Sept. assessed possibility that SO would send weapons represented to be defensive in purpose but of a more "offensive" character.

[Recognizing that they might use words this way, amounts to saying that the words they were using did not constitute a clear circumstance.

Why didn't you ask? Some because they didn't believe there was a real danger.

Minister or others would indicate a far greater willingness to increase the level of risk in US-Sov relations than the USSR has displayed thus far.

[Defendant the amount of risk the Sovs estimate; i.e. their estimate of USSR's crisis behavior; our est. assumes they would see risk high; this is a prediction.



## Great Power Disruption

Hard to conceal from great power; easier to deceive, mislead

Notes — about timing, precise target, purpose

(which affects other actions taken or avoided simultaneously  
or subsequently, actions of others supported or opposed!)

Why deceive? If it is necessary, that suggests the  
existence of major cross collaboration

Call on Report to EIB:

a) "McC is quite intentionally suspicious?"

b) McC was always for more action - everywhere.

(Suggested on Oct 7 - look at real evidence of murder).

c) Intentional special group on scene until

last night &

d) Comm on Cleveland Room look forward of  
determining on question & allocation of flights for month, then  
not wanting to consider more (with month) till that question had  
been blown - even though that side of flights might run into  
the next month, because of bad weather.

On 10 Sept, they set question which is - because  
of weather conditions set - was not completed till flights?  
Sept 7 - that it was directed at finding intent of T.H.s;  
these already found were not blown over again.

The instructions of "CCMs" available after mid-Sept were not  
such as to make specific investigation seem necessary

possible? Although suspicious area included on flights

Monday Sept 10 (mostly to check 5:45 am earlier.)



Source: 1 Committee on General Plan: C/1.

2) Meetings of Exhonor (minutes from 25th by Gandy  
Nitzsche?) State

3) Working Paper, General State

4) SWE Oct. 19

5) Final draft of Plan, night of Oct 19

6) Memorandum letter to J.F.K. 20 Oct. State

7) Persons: Delany - Thompson E?

- Johnson E

- Linder (Oct 13, 24 67) State



One read 31.1. 1941, morning (13 would not  
tibrate)

15. The same of 1941. - large tide night of 19.8.41?

[On 11.8.41, all of 7 days to prepare in tide, + 7-11 for invasion]

[What formation analysis of effects of winds?]

2 [What of 10-2 had been date down? What  
meaning for this, Oct 16-28? What was read  
from 2nd failure to shoot? How clear was message  
to have 16-22 of flight thought to be?



10. What discussion, Tuesday evening Oct 16?

Who did Dan talk to between 9 and 11:45?

Evening: 6:30 on Tue? Who? Who in Dan's party?

11? What happened?

11. Who had "mistle" action? Early on

12. What were early attitudes of Ep. Comm on the  
remaining puzzles of pre-atom? SC description? SC  
expectations? Relation to politics, the Union?

13. What defensive behavior appeared early: e.g. intell  
Comm, E. even failure?

13.2 Oct. Comm V.C. ...

2.

1. Who was told Oct 14 - really? Who told him - why?

Who was not told, who was told even thereafter?

Who was left out deliberately?

When, during evening?

Little was in by accident of timing, presence?  
Johnson?

Did we see besides M.G. want to talk to Pers? Did  
they know he didn't know?

2. What were their first reactions - Oct 15? What

did they do? Who did they tell? Any consequences, prior  
to the same meeting?

3. Did 1-2 fly on Oct 16? Might Pers have visited the 3  
Oct 15?

73, 29, 15, 41 -

70, 78, 26



[What other advantageous moves for 30 are being  
regarded as unlikely because 'too risky' or  
because of other pressures underlying Cuban estimates?]

3. Other info on Committee on Freedom of Access? What info?

What was our planning in case of incidents?

The ops would be coordinated — special  
case to avoid incidents when on important operations  
is going on?

4. Was Bt 10 meeting scheduled because of 5 Bt 10 scheduled?

Was flight cancelled? Were missions considered?

5. When did pressure build for inviol. of Bt 10? What info?

(MC's scheduled?)

1. When were the OSI instructions on photo identification?

2. When were info on ELISA released to public?

[Was it important to the crossing of 15-22 Oct that special security was started already to offensive op. in Cuba — because of political considerations?

~ Oct 4, Oct 12-72.

[Question for Ex-Com: What were the effects on U.S. decision-making of: surprise, deception, prior mis-estimates?

What could K have reduced his risks? Reduced success? What would have been effects of telling Pasa?

Suppose Pasa had known of number etc. time of introduction in SO? What would K have done? ]



## Crisis, Decision & Response

I am emphasizing emotion as an effect and a cause;  
the introductory consideration ignored in the "decision" approach,  
which does not ask Why the alternatives, contingencies  
values are seen as they are, or how/why they change.

The emotional response is not, altogether, chosen  
deliberately (though it may be learned; & the extent to  
which it is revealed or explained may be controlled.)

and it is then affects response variables in some  
ways "uncontrolled by the ego" — i.e. not chosen — not  
adapted to conscious goals & expectations of future consequences.

Anger, fear, hatred (from <sup>anxiety, depression</sup> humiliation) affects  
values and expectations, social behaviors, alternatives  
& considered, perceived, goals, etc. — in ways not explicit,  
conscious, or "chosen."

(Anger may also be useful, and be used;  
it can be deliberately increased, or be flung.

Thus, not all effects of the "info that produces emotion"

can be described in terms of Bayes' Theorem.

Important parts of governmental response  
of our note "closed" or "decided" by highest officials  
though someone may have "decided" them; but of these,  
important parts may not have been "decided" by  
anyone.

(e.g. high officials may have determined or specified  
them — without using a process of "decision".)

Contrast is to the "Team" approach — which assumes  
<sup>constant</sup> common (organizational) motives, models (though  
different evidence and action-responsibilities).

(Ultimately, our success lies more in visions, or  
splits in goals/values/models between "politically responsible  
officials" and bureaucrats.

Do Presidents influence gov response — in ways  
not determined by the bureaucracy, or public, or explicit  
premises defining the "national interest" before the event?



Lincoln addresses "costs of calculation, march, 'brady, etc.  
as limits on "national planning"

of focus on costs in the form of political costs,  
risks, dangers, rather than revenue costs.

Costs of calculating, considering, expecting / productivity  
possessing, "being informed". [e.g. responsibility to  
pass on info of certain kinds, or from certain sources — to  
others with different models, goals; hence, preference in  
some cases for "not being told; not knowing" (of  
propagations; or, of info that would be misinterpreted, or would  
lead to "bad" reporting beliefs, or pressures for action).

Effects of "decision process" on responsibility :  
potential challenge: criticism

Ignorance to a Expense

(e.g. for not informing others — Congress, public,  
Allies; not "passing on info.")

Means-ends (no. actions - consequences - values)  
Linear expectations ...

But means ends approach, starting with goals/ends (like "problem solving," or "control" approach) leads inevitably to consideration of search for alternatives, means; where "decision" approach assumes means given, after some evaluation of them, rather than invention, discovery, search.

However, decision approach does suggest a search for goals/values/ends, as to to choose; i.e. as a basis for comparison and choice. Systems analysis.

Where means-ends may assume ends given, totally specified in advance, unchanging.



## Presidential Role

Alternatives *first* approximations.

3) To mediate disputes, define ends, evaluate ends, and score policies / programs, without reference or consideration of Administration / Party / personal interests.

4) To increase / maintain power and influence of nation (to achieve goals <sup>general goals, or</sup> largely defined elsewhere: Congress, public, Congress, pressure groups, party).

2) to maintain his Administration in office (satisfying) and his own place in history, and his own current prestige and influence).

Internal War ed. Harry Eckstein Free Press 64.  
Political Power <sup>US/USSR</sup> Erezkinde + Huntington Viking 64  
Rosen 3603 H. Montgomery Hyde Pantheon-Stevens  
Korea - The Limited War Daniel Bell St. Martin's, 64  
British Politics in the Suez Crisis Am. Ill. Press Epstein



Frank's example and history

Notions for history:

1) Keep elements from committing himself to counteraction  
which he will then have to carry out.

He might have to commit himself if he (4 his public)  
knows of more — because of his position, his  
public or other attitude. He might be encouraged  
to do so by belief that we are entitled to make some  
response, either (JFK vs K in Sept 62), by political  
considerations of being tough. Some military contingency, or  
Q (may be trade with warheads, to cooperate for  
certain areas), or belief we are highly entitled to do it  
given the warning (like the English, JFK vs K;  
K vs Blackboard in Sept 23, 62?)

Or, he might be obligated to pass info on,  
if "defensive", "counteraction" or "response" — to others who  
would then take counteraction or pass him to take action.

(So, where lies the responsibility? English-Blackboard vs K;  
K vs JFK in Sept 62; Epitome vs warning of an attack  
to K? Epitome vs telling others early?)

✓

MacKenzie special on planning

Four reasons for appearance of laws:

1) Complexity of motives : different sets of weightings at different times, places.  
(+ different weightings by different people, with  
different perspectives and obligations)

2) Gov can't discuss fully all motives or info —  
even within gov.

3. Different motives relating to policy statements : different  
and multitude audiences, different circumstances.

4. 14 . Lots of controversy, difference of opinions, bureaucratic  
positions, operations.

Abstracts (Included in Chap)

Prior commitments, policies.



## Eastern - Central Relations in the Suez Crisis

Suez

1. Eden had been main figure in moving out of base in 1954 — against opposition of Suez Group in his own party. (Had this been remembered by Left troops moving out in 1956?)

2. Did not Marwan move — right after Treacher moved out — tend to discredit Eden's policy, vindicates his opposition; specifically, indicating "consolidating" or "trusting" policy were wrong and encouraged "defiance."  
But cooperation — general; Britain was helped to return by Cuba from Egypt. It was on this prospect that Eden near of Korea? staked some of

3. Eden — like 1954 — 50 (Greece — 50, or not?)  
was suspected of being undermining and insufficiently dedicated to the goals served by intervention.

4. The "provocation" was seen as an opportunity by the Suez Group: to topple Marwan, ~~start~~ again Canal, ~~reassert~~.

British influence in ME and independence of US,  
maintain imperial roles.

Just as Eden was opportunity to invade  
Cuba, Tupper Centre (resisted by JFK; just as  
Eden finally abandoned his opportunity.)

And — as there was opportunity to shift  
defense spending policy, means, is called for by VSC-68.

And as Oswald Harbison was opportunity.

4. Then Eden, like JFK (I guess?) knew that men  
would have strong support of an otherwise oppositionist  
group (in his party; JFK — in England); and would  
maintain harmonious relations of Eden. Eden personally.

(Include JFK, Eden knew opposing party was  
opposed, not sure details of his own

Then, "prosecution" was moving against an opponent  
opportunity for an "increase." (Actually, heads of state weren't  
waiting, but Eden was.)



5. To have failed to make "opportunity" to more  
evidently — (and independently, in long run) would have  
exposed him — like JFK (Fidel Castro?) to  
sharp attacks; "revealed" indecisiveness & weakness,  
truth of charges against him.  
(Eg of Pugs, above)

6. Style & nature of provocation — which discredited  
policy of at-all-costs leader — was seen as offensive,  
defiant ("impudence") — infuriating, and  
humiliating, and damaging to prestige and influence  
in the eyes of third parties.

Leader only (incl. P. of Jg — reinstated)  
(Then: Truman, on basis of threat in Korea:  
"those bastards! They will be there to me!"  
Truman's pride he had been misled — by Eisenhower?  
by his intelligence?]

End

7. ~~the~~ issue of you : a) concealing prior knowledge  
(of Oswald's Threat) ; (also collusion, not charged  
in Eden — of having told Oswald he would join, &  
would vote — 14

b) deceiving people as to plans, intentions.

c) deceiving and not honestly align.

d) not telling Parliament as all of Eden (by of Prigo, Cher,  
not issue in US?)

(Role of Congress in Rosen? out of session?)

8. [a. Did Eden know of prospective Dallas withdrawal of  
support of Dorn? Erskine Children, Paul telling,  
161-62, 191 ].

Legal.



8. Difference: lack of organized political opposition  
in the US case: Cuba I & II, Korea. What might  
have produced it in US?

Main opposition in US is Democrats, not in Republicans  
in Cuba. Still, why not more criticism?

9. Question: What were Kasser's expectations? Why did he  
think he could get away with it? (as K. in Cuba  
Notes).

10. Role of elections. Randolph Churchill, Prime & Fall of  
Sir Anthony Eden, London 1957, p. 293. Britain thought  
she would be preoccupied with election, or worried  
about offending French voters. I thought American opinion  
would vary from "benevolent neutrality" to "hostile  
neutrality." (Uncertainty recognized.) I always thought.

11. End of first example: to be sincerely  
committed (by attraction) before US or Central  
(Cabinet / Party / Labor) opposition could see need &  
opportunity to commit itself, to later move; & oppose strongly.  
(First example is giving first move  
first commitment: and, against internal & external opposition).

part of rights gets "credit" for being  
committed & opposition (Labor; <sup>US</sup> JFK & also)  
actual dispute considerable commitment by initiator: in  
part because they had committed themselves earlier,  
and open move <sup>without continuity or warning</sup> looked like defiance of their  
oppressed desire.

12. Phenomenon: refusal of US to move Central to  
come face - forcing it to withdraw before Central  
leaves (or rather, to stop before attack succeeded, -  
intention of meeting successful attack is better than  
US encouraged failure - even if worse than no attack).



[On change of Latitude:

When  $\phi$  small

22 July

W on testimony when: Kennedy is wounded by the  
allied gov involved, because of their anticipation of  
the reaction of their governments. foolish.

(particularly in the face of many protests, incidents.)

Also, Indian gov, flights over Hawaiian passes.

American gov did know of nature of flights, contrary  
to what Kasten told Congress.

(Note: they preferred to be open to charges of  
not knowing, than to charges of knowing.)

[Might Carter have claimed lack of knowledge?



Distrib. 18 Sept: late of info 7 Sept, acquired 15 Sept

resident of Havana (F) with good contacts among high level  
officials in the railroad industry.

incl. para 1: (4) 2: 3

1. A large zone in Pinar del Rio Province within a perimeter  
is being guarded by Pte troops.

(4) cont. It is believed that ground forces could  
effectively control as an complete area a zone as large  
as the one cited above.

2. Plantation guarded; several activity; said to be mission.



Canell: given the ban, it took high level attention to get  
outside of normal publication channels to get anything  
banned up the line.

[Does media analysts to pass on the info, if  
not, e.g. in the Cuban Daily Evening - read carefully  
in DCP's office. ?]

(Especially conscious of need to be able to explain,  
if there was a mishap, the justification for the flight  
in terms of highest priority needs.

Accountable reports (Hansen) received by analysts 24 Sept,  
landed <sup>by</sup> Victim 27 Sept. Next, 1 Oct, away.  
<sup>report C-3</sup>  
C-3, reports down, number landed at mail 7-19 Sept.

There triggered targeting powers. Targets selected were  
that material in report of 8 Sept; not much attention had  
been paid to this at Time, possibly because DCP evaluation  
of reports paragraph reporting landed area was 4.

But, with then these reports...



Die 22  
 11  
 100: May instruction

McC noted we could have gotten it maybe a week or ten days earlier, but Carroll replied, would what you could have gotten a week or ten days earlier have been enough to remove anybody — but at the trouble we had concerning people with what we got on the 14th.

It could be felt this had been a little victory

could we have got nothing to be released of even if we do have a SNIE we can't buy. This point point doesn't let us put our best foot forward.

on Chubbick  
 Boston Bell, we should put refugee reports in the Chubbick or the CIB.

MI-62889 Call it 4  
 2/70 in Boston

[Was a Soviet heftian plan postulated?

When high-level assurances relayed for White House?  
available to CIA?]

Albion. The whole group was fearful of another U-2 incident in early October. Everybody was reluctant to see another dog get shot down, but also was anxious to avoid jeopardizing the approval to fly U-2s, which might well have happened on the heels of a public exposure. Carter also deemed how difficult it had been to obtain approval of the U-2s from Taylor, and through him, from the President. Also, there were plans to use U-2s in the Far East, which would need approval.

[So, people at lower levels had and to be cautious themselves, but they had the approval of higher levels.]



4 Oct DCI at SG [any?] pressed for air cover  
of western Cuba, argued that CA was being restricted  
to the southern only. The AG was quite provoked and  
claimed that there had been no requirements submitted  
for the western end, and that at no time had the  
Pres or the SG turned down any flights CA asked for.  
It is that it was known that the DC's sensitivity to  
overflying the face of SAMs was known.

Flight plans approved on 9th. This flight was  
intended to discover if the SAMs were operational. The  
flight plan was laid out to cover the two most advanced  
and if these were not operational, then they would go  
for thorough coverage of western Cuba inland for  
the next mission. The Pres. signed the 9th 14 mission  
but withheld approval for the next mission until the  
results of the 14th. were known.

The SAC pilot, new to the area, got lost and  
was corrected and only by persistent overflights the  
San Cristobal area. He was close to but some distance  
to the east of where he should have been when he  
overflew the MRPMs.

29 Sept: Went good. Flight cancelled for VC probing, poor weather; other planes over side of river.

7 Oct. All Calves - good: flight over NE probing.

Completed left missions; Oct missions not yet authorized.

8-11 Oct: Future weather not checked

[Any question?]

29 Sept. no weather check (?)

31 Aug - 4 Sept " " " (no left missions yet authorized)

W: On 10 Sept an ad hoc mission by the SC in Bangkok office drew a flight plan for a single mission to cover the bulk of what COMOR asked on 5 Sept. Subsequently, Route divided this single mission into 4 Miss. 4 many days had to be found. O. Penalties they fly all together 4 airplanes each day.



Weather had to be forecast good (C-17 over) at  
21st Sept. - no decision, 21st Sept. before takeoff

Three scheduled missions cancelled because of poor (3/8 - 1/2 cover)  
to bad weather over areas of desired coverage: Sept 7, 17,  
22, 28, Oct 2; one on Sept. 13 found target (Color of film)  
observed.

[~~Sept 17~~ by Standdown plan less of flight over China  
on 8 Sept till 16 Sept]

Between 16 Sept and 14 Oct, weather poor to bad  
over targets for at least 18 of the 32 days.

Out optimum overflight conditions between 16 - 24 Oct  
(Some of best weather was observed in China).

Sept 7 planned for Southwest China; cancelled for poor  
weather.

16 Sept: West - good; Central + East poor. Flight aborted;

Delayed by poor weather over targets in Eastern China.

Cancelled 17 Sept.

26 Sept: West - good, East - good. Central - poor. Flight over

SE-China, Cross.

27 Sept West - good: 29.

The sensitivity attached, after early 1945, to the presence of offensive weapons systems in Cuba had the effect of requiring a higher grade of proof in order to demonstrate to policy-makers that a major qualitative change had taken place in the Soviet arms build-up.

[Who wrote this? Evidence?]

[Higher than would have been necessary, say, on Aug 25?]

The numerous reports of offensive missile activity for a long period prior to the beginning of the arms build-up, some of which had been substantiated and many of which had been disproved, increased skepticism among intelligence analysts of subsequent reports of such missiles, especially in view of photo verification.

[If reports were taken less seriously as evidence than if they had not many earlier reports & copies (a) no earlier opportunity to check & disprove reports by photos.



## Tentative Conclusions of Interim Report

- But, com's somewhat lacking awareness of the offensive threat was reflected by the absence of requirements specifically targeted against the potential threat (except for 33rd Twp. ... 14 Oct mission).

- SI gave intell on ship movements & identification of an expert, but did not believe to disclose his intentions [role of SI?] or action in deploying missiles.

(Reference: ship photos (except 21-22); recent success in body diplomats of friendly nations, intell from coverage of 20 (except 21-22 training).

But: refugees; agents (about 200 men & women); photos — though program not provided with adequate vision during development period of years — build-up to provide coverage of all parts of the island with sufficient frequency.

From Report: first major explosion associated with  
offensive missiles occurred about 6 Sept,  
first IRBM with increased to rate about  
17 Sept.

Pictures of I-28 state of 23 Sept took 12 days to  
reach Washington. Unmistakable I-28 first seen in Cuba  
15 Oct. IRBM etc 15 Oct.

West end of Cuba not photographed between 27 Aug  
and 14 Oct. (6 weeks!)

And Cross happened to build from west to east.

[Suppose clouds had covered west end of  
island on 29 Aug + 5 Sept. Then east + central  
SAMs would have been seen first, attention turned  
to west. Then, if flights had been delayed till,  
say, 20 Sept [there was weather on west end  
+ Sept?] we would have seen IRBMs — perhaps  
before reports!]

[But we wouldn't have seen any SAMs till 20-25 Sept  
on west.]



Procedures adopted in Sept. delayed photo intell.  
but the delay was not critical, because photos obtained  
prior to about 17 Oct. [?] would not have been  
sufficient to warrant action of a type which  
would require support from Western Hemisphere or  
NATO Allies.

[Might to have received our justification for  
a fact example?]

14. Will need early set of requirements for strike? [Y.N.S.]  
(Syrac?)

[50 centers for work for MRMV + 100 centers for airfields,  
+ 200 for SAMs. 2000 sites / 40000 hours for invasion.]

[Thought: K planned to come to NY, (NY State in November -  
after Johnson elections; K thought meeting at that time  
would be useful. G instructed to make clear

that and to also make clear for the purpose of contributing  
to the defensive capability of Cuba.

JFK: was to also was giving a profound impact on  
American people + Congress G. national. Ego of Papp  
Gins at in that he already told K that was a mistake  
and that had he been asked he would have given  
assurances there would be no further increase. Thought  
but since July when our diplomats started, situation  
had changed. G. His specialists were giving heavy  
and the entire kind of defensive move - and he wanted to stress  
the need for defense



18 Oct Joint GMAC-JAEC-NDIC Evaluation.

MRBM could be launched within 5 hours.

18 Oct. DCI asked US B E. consider two reaction to  
three possible sources of action:

2) To do nothing about offen. missiles

4) <sup>as also</sup> Establish limited blockade under declaration of war

4) Military action to destroy missiles and missile sites.

SNIE 11-18-66 (18-19 Oct).



5 Oct }  
7 Oct } *hupland minor*

5 Oct: US/B memo on <sup>little fact.</sup> 0-2 flts. *primary objectives on a north*

7 Oct 36 (Aug) <sup>?</sup> decided to verify a SAM site in western Cuba

had to think of 14 Oct.

(5 Oct: 'COVER messages increased risk to aircraft in light of the 50-2 and 100-21 aircraft present there, but it must be stated that the current need is extremely urgent and the risk involved should be very thoroughly weighed before this coverage is denied.

7 Oct: 36 (Aug) discussed spectrum of action. First priority to one 0-2 over western end. If no fire, similar action.

[How sure was this decision? What if its last known fire?]

10-12 continued. 12 Oct: noted passed to SAC.

18, 16 17 Oct 3 N/E 11-17-62 shifted.



14 Sept: SG considered proposal on bus schedule (for  
Buses. Noted that Reddy didn't want the  
considered till results of CH flights available.

15-16 Sept: weather checked daily for flight. cancelled.

17 Sept: flt. over Buses. Sand cover.

18-21: delayed, cancelled.

22-26: delayed, flown on 26. Buses.

27 Sept: SG approved CH forecast for one mission in  
Oct, + any Sept flights not yet flown (4 flights  
remained when forecast drafted).

29 Sept: Sale of Buses, Big of Buses.

29-30 Oct: peripheral considerably cancelled.

& mission sand cover.

3 Oct: DIA came to COMOR: inspect MROM mess. COMOR targeting

4 Oct: SG (Aug): DCI said CH restricted to using U-2's

in SE quadrant because of SAMs. The targeted  
but operation believed. DCI questioned.

MRO to present program for 1st mission to SG (Aug)  
on 9 Oct.

[1. When was mission planned by CIA originally?  
Was it planned for 6 Sept, delayed by weather?  
" " " " 10 Sept " " incidents?  
Why was special meeting called for 10 Sept? incidents?

2. Faults: Lack of pressure by intell comm - Sept for  
more flights or coverage of events and.  
Analysts only - incidents  
- policy and analysis skills  
- reaction on 10 Sept. time  
- No C reaction that Sept 10 could proceed

Because of limited number of flights authorized, CIA  
made it a practice not to fly unless weather over  
most of critical targets was less than 25% overcast.  
Poor weather + 4 separate flights  $\Rightarrow$  longer time  
to get requested photo coverage.

[B.I. notes - no new urgent requests.]



He said that he had no objection to the peripheral  
route and, in fact, thought it useful to continue to  
establish our right to fly over international waters.  
On the other hand, he recognized the necessity for  
extensive satellite coverage of the Gulf of Mexico and the  
western portion of Cuba at this time. He felt, however,  
that it is unwise to combine extensive overflying of  
international waters with actual overflights. He pointed  
out that the long peripheral flight would draw undue  
attention to the mission and further that should the  
aircraft fall into enemy hands after an overflight  
had occurred, this would place the US in a very poor  
position for standing on its rights to overfly international  
waters.

Taking these views into account, the CAG plans to  
break this proposed coverage into four parts — the  
Gulf of Mexico, the area roughly west of us, and two  
legs along the coast — one north and one south.

(See attached proposal of 4 parts.)

8 Sept: COMOR reviewed results.

9 Sept memo to A/OC1

possible SSF to

Mission didn't cover side of Pines (CAF's) or get down

other station areas which could be searched

for SSF and possible SSF applicants.

Recommend further mission is done in weather permits  
for targets mentioned above.

D/ISA told COMOR that <sup>the</sup> State had asked whether  
Caves could be covered by peripheral means.

(20 miles out).

10 Sept. COMOR replied: could not satisfy arguments for  
Bases, or search <sup>water</sup> for CAF's further inland, nor  
for further Mig-21 sent on island bases or for  
technical intell.

10 Sept. special meeting (of 7) in HCB's office after  
2 U-2 incidents. Tom Barrett wrote memo: <sup>11 Sept</sup>

See State, AG, A/OC1 & others, see State expressed  
concern at CAF's planned coverage of Cuba, involving  
extensive peripheral coverage as well as two legs  
directly over Cuba on each side, all in one flight.



7 Sept: special meeting of COMOR in light of 29 Aug results.  
Requirements for next flight agreed. No need for SC return

Because of known SAM sites <sup>with danger to our flight</sup> plus need for lubrication of  
Bones, COMOR thought first flight should be brought  
to attention of Acting DCI.

8 Sept: Memo from COMOR to R/DCI asking approval.

In view of finding SAM sites on western end of  
island, it is particularly important that as soon  
as weather permits the next authorized mission  
should cover those areas of the island which  
were not photographed because of weather or  
because the range did not permit.

W.C. That the copies at the eastern end of  
island should be photographed again, but  
there is no requirement at this time for  
recoverage of the SAM sites.

8 Sept: eastern & central portions of island; land cover  
in East.

3-2 flights begun 26 Oct 60. Till 12 Oct, 62: 54 flights.

After Feb 62, 2/month.

2 extra in June.

12 July: SG (Aug) agreed to continue 4/month.

19 July: MC proposals 4/month (covered by existing

authorization). Board will approve, through

review of CG Monthly Forecast, flights planned

for each succeeding month.

30 July: SG approved 2 for Aug.

5 Aug: results inadequate, camera malfunction; CO-102

requested 2 more flights in Aug.

8 Aug: flts. cancelled; cancelled for bad weather,

sp. features.

7 Aug: SG: several missions under DCI becomes necessary.

If 3rd mission necessary later in month,

should be considered on its merits at that time.

Notes: 10 Aug for 12; 17 Aug; daily between 17-24 Aug, when

mission cancelled. (Cancelled).

Next mission delayed by weather till 29 Aug.

8 S-44 sites.

30 Aug: SG approved forecast for 1 flight for Sept.



SNIE 85-62, 17 Jan. Threat to US Security Interests in  
Cuba. Area

NIE 85-62 21 March S.T. & Prospects in Cuba

NIE 85-2-62 1 Aug " "

SNIE 85-3-62 19 Sept Military Build up in Cuba.

Estimates of problems involved: a) over-all US policy,  
including policy w.r.t. US; b) US policy w.r.t. Latin  
America; c) US relations with Castro, presence in Cuba,  
and the military build-up.

Est. calculations:

a) US policy w.r.t. US: To avoid the risk of  
confrontation with a high degree of risk of losing  
Cuba, or b) going to war.

b) in C.A. & Latin: policy designed to win victory  
by other than military means, and this would be  
disparaged by street boss.

c) Military build up probably connected with these  
policies.

7 Sept } (Bones?)

13 Sept } restrictions on publicly offensive weapons discussed  
in USIB.

(info after mid-Sept, was included in briefings and news  
by DIA for SecDef and JCS.

(State? But not HqG, Pres?)

17 Oct II-88 published. USIB meeting getting up PSHA-M

(Pres order 10 Oct)

Diagram of new info on offensive weapons. Info limited to

USIB members only.



### Restrictions

May 82: DCI told analysts to check out with NPIC  
any reports susceptible to photo verification.

Mid-August (22 Aug?) DCI urged Press on increasing volume  
of agent-refugee reports: Press directed  
every effort to check out these reports. DCI told DC/IT  
to check any available source, particularly VPIC.

[Then, weather forecasts on photos  
collected on intelligence source publishing].

Instruction "can be interpreted by CIA analysts as  
a restriction on publishing anything that could not be  
verified by NPIC. At least on item on SAMs, nothing  
susceptible... was published in CIB, Summary or Checklist  
that had not been so verified.

31 Aug: Press ordered USG, through Acting Sec, not to publish  
results of 29 Aug flight ID policy incident  
(Did this include suspicion on Banes, or  
just SAMs? Banes ordered to flight?)  
Banes published 17 <sup>3.1st</sup> ~~Oct~~; SAMs after 4 Sept.

little hard work of low ception program:

low "Disinformation" Bureau went forward against US.

USIB Colonial Watch Report. fully: formally coordinated.

all cases usually. in areas.

Also on agenda 21 Aug; reviewed 23 Aug.

Effect of restraints on USIB used to concentrate

info at decision making levels of HQ.

[Contrast to normal situation; effects?]

[Was Cuban response hampered by

lack of prior planning? Might it have been,  
if developed differently?]

March 62: CIA Cuban Daily Summary established: direct

support to officers responsible for landmine collection

of S. Subject to publishing restrictions.

[Used as source for Pres Checklist?]

[No items on officers' names in Checklist; <sup>restrictions</sup> regional in notes]

Also Highlights on 27 Aug for Special Group (Argentina)

to 19 Sept.